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Freedom Spiritual.

We are in the midst of influences, which menace the intellect and heart; and to be free, is to withstand and conquer these.

I call that mind free, which masters the senses, which protects itself against animal appetites, which contemns pleasure and pain in comparison with its own energy, which penetrates beneath the body and recognizes its own reality and greatness, which passes life, not in asking what it shall eat or drink, but in hungering, thirsting, and seeking after righteousness.

I call that mind free, which escapes the bondage of matter, which instead of stopping at the material universe and making it a prison wall, passes beyond it to its Author, and finds in the radiant signatures which it everywhere bears of the Infinite Spirit, helps to its own spiritual enlargement.

I call that mind free, which jealously guards its intellectual rights and powers, which calls no man master, which does not content itself with a passive or hereditary faith, which opens itself to light whencesoever it may come, which receives new truth as an angel from heaven, which whilst consulting others, inquires still more of the oracle within itself, and uses instruction from abroad, not to supersede but to quicken and exalt its own energies.

I call that mind free, which sets no bounds to its love, which is not imprisoned in itself or in a sect, which recognizes in all human beings the image of God and the rights of his children, which delights in virtue and sympathizes with suffering wherever they are seen, which conquers pride, anger, doth, and offers itself up a willing victim to the cause of mankind.

I call that mind free, which is not passively framed by outward circumstances, which is not swept away by the torrent of events, which is not the creature of accidental impulse, but which bends

events to its own improvement, and acts from an inward spring, from immutable principles which it has deliberately espoused.

I call that mind free, which protects itself against the usurpations of society, which does not cower to human opinion, which feels itself accountable to a higher tribunal than man's, which respects a higher law than fashion, which respects itself too much to be the slave or tool of the many or the few.

I call that mind free, which, through confidence in God and in the power of virtue, has cast off all fear but that of wrong-doing, which no menace or peril can enthrall, which is calm in the midst of tumults, and possesses itself though all else be lost.

I call that mind free, which resists the bondage of habit, which does not mechanically repeat itself and copy the past, which does not live on its old virtues, which does not enslave itself to precise rules, but which forgets what is behind, listens for new and higher monitions of conscience, and rejoices to pour itself forth in fresh and higher exertions.

I call that mind free, which is jealous of its own freedom, which guards itself from being merged in others, which guards its empire over itself as nobler than the empire of the world.

In fine, I call that mind free, which, conscious of its affinity with God, and confiding in his promises by Jesus Christ, devotes itself faithfully to that unfolding of all its powers, which passes the bounds of time and death, which hopes to advance forever, and which finds inexhaustable power, both for action and suffering, in the prospect of immortality.

—[William Ellery Channing.

Evil, according to old philosophers, is good in the making. That pure malignity can exist, is the extreme proposition of unbelief. It is not to be entertained by a rational agent; it is Atheism; it is the last profanation.

—[Emerson.

Partly About the War.

The Detroit Free Press is, as it always has been, the leading organ of the Pro-Slavery Democracy of Michigan. Formerly it was the representative of a large majority, but now only of a small minority, of the voters and public sentiment of the State. It is quite safe to assert that during the thirty years of its existence there has not been a single issue that has not expressed contempt for "the nigger." If we may believe the Free Press man, he is a great deal smarter man than "the nigger" ever was or ever will be. The people of Detroit, who do not happen to be of pure Saxon or Celtic blood, being very dull and stupid, ought to feel especially grateful to the Free Press man for his kind, gentlemanly, neighborly office of reminding them, from day to day, of his and their relative worthiness. No matter how often they may forget the lesson, with commendable patience and perseverance, it is sure to be repeated. This teacher fears not that his lessons will ever prove an inconvenience to him, as he knows "the inferior race" does not cherish wrathful remembrance of a long train of abuses, having for its direct object the establishment and continuance of an absolute tyranny. There is nothing like abusing the despised and the weak, for then you are on the safe side.

To assert the superiority of some races, and of some individuals of the same race, is but to repeat what everybody knows to be true: but the superiority that is forever boasting is not the genuine article. It is like some people's religion: you would never mistrust they had any if they were not continually reminding you of the fact. It is unlike the good old deacon's religion, who, on being asked if he really supposed he had religion, replied, "None to speak of." But some men keep what little superiority they have on purpose to speak of. They have no other use for it.

At the beginning of Secession, the previous party connection and Pro-Slavery proclivities of the Free Press strongly inclined it to espouse the rebel cause; but the pressure of the times soon drove it into the appearance of loyalty. At present it is a perfect pattern of true loyalty—in its own estimation. It howls for the arrest of Wendell Phillips for treason, and handles the New York Tribune and Post as John Calvin would a reprobate. Its special mission seems to be to shield the President from the attacks of the rascally Abolitionists. It is said the President wears of late an anxious and care-worn expression. Doubtless he has learned that the Detroit Free Press and the New York Herald—those life-long advocates of oppression and staunchest de-

senders of the sum of all villainies—endorse his policy. Who can conceive the mental anguish of the poor old man as he prays, "O, Lord, save me from such friends!"

While the President has met the approval, Secretary Stanton has fallen under the ban of the Pro-Slavery wing of the Detroit Democracy. For the past two months they have done all they could to read him out of the Party and the Cabinet. Their chaste and classic motto has been, "Down with Stanton! he has got the nigger on the brain." Every daily of the Free Press says in substance: "Put the nigger into the ditches, make him eternally subordinate to the white man; but give not the least countenance to his fighting for the same cause with white men. For then he would feel that he had earned the right of citizenship—one right that the white man would be bound to respect: and that is opposed to the decision of the Supreme Court." And the Free Press is as sure the Supreme Court is the highest tribunal in Earth or Heaven, as Daniel Webster was there was no higher law than the Constitution or the Allegany Mountains. Daniel Webster exhorted New England to overcome her prejudices in favor of liberty. But New England did not overcome her prejudices—Massachusetts mourned the great man fallen—South Carolina did not make him President, and Daniel Webster died of disappointment, remorse and chagrin.

It requires great ambition and considerable manliness as a foundation for such a death. The mercenary Slaveocrats of the North run no risk of dying the literal death of Daniel Webster, though political defeat is sure to overtake them. They can no longer rule the Nation with a rod of iron as when they were in full fellowship with the Gulf States; although, by the help of border ruffians, they can and do dictate the policy of the Nation. It was through fear of them and insolent England that the infamous Mason was not hung. It is because of deference to them that the work of Mason—the infernal Fugitive Law—has not been abolished. The name of Jeff. Davis, chiseled in stone at Washington, has been removed; but the nature of Mason remains on the statute book. It remains for the benefit of "our brethren of the Border States," who own a peculiar species of property. "Our brethren of the Border States" may need it to apply again on the citizens of Oberlin. This is "the Union as it was" with the Border instead of the Gulf States for our masters. Chivalrous, noble, magnanimous Kentucky! how condescending you are to allow us the privilege of hunting your human game! Now that the Gulf States have gone and left us, we should be lost without some such occupation furn-

ished by you. And then you are so kind and patronizing—so much like the master of noble hounds. When they have returned from a successful chase, he pats them on the back and calls them "good fellows." So you, in the Fugitive Law, call us "good citizens" in advance of the chase. If we chase well, you reward us with your approving smile; but if we chase badly, you merely relieve us of our farms and cast us into prison—small punishment compared with the magnitude of the offense. Who would not glory to do dog-service for the "high blood" of Kentucky!

Kentucky has some truly noble sons—men whom these oligarchs would trample under foot. May they soon become her rulers, and may she live on terms of peace and equality with her sister Ohio, and with all the other States of a Union redeemed!

Who has not hoped that the President had modified Fremont and Hunter that he himself might have the opportunity and glory of proclaiming the one great act of universal emancipation? But who is so hopeful as to feel no disappointment at late conduct of the war? It was to be expected that the "distinguished" Secretary should pay "distinguished" deference to the will of loyal slaveholders of the "distinguished" State of Kentucky; but it was hardly to be expected that the Rail-Splitter should mistake the voice of these Border Ruffians for the voice of the people. Neither of these worthies prefers slavery to liberty, as his own choice; he only wishes to do the will of the people and get the best pay for it.

Abraham Lincoln seems to possess some prescience, but Wm. H. Seward not a particle. Whenever the latter has undertaken the office of prophet he has signally failed. Finally people begin to have sense enough not to expect any thing to occur in thirty, sixty or ninety days any the more because Mr. Seward says it will. He ridiculed the idea of the possibility of a Southern revolt after it had actually taken place. He made himself merry over the easy job it would prove to placate the wrath of the rebels. While acknowledging Constitutional obligations for National interference in favor of Slavery,—Wm. H. Seward proposed and urged the addition of a clause to the Constitution that should forever prohibit the Nation from interfering in opposition to Slavery. It was not enough that knives should be placed in the hands of the assassin,—Wm. H. Seward would fetter the limbs of his victim! After having harped on the string of the "irrepressible conflict" between free and slave labor till he had secured the support of the free laborers of the North,—Wm. H. Seward would bind the Nation hand and foot and pass it over to the Slave Power forever. He prostrated himself before the

throne of that power and implored it to grant his promotion, accept his devotion and the Nation's betrayal.

But, thanks to Davis & Co., they spurned the worship of so mean a devotee. The Nation has still one chance left for salvation and Judas has lost his thirty pieces of silver! Wm. H. Seward will never be President, though he long for the Presidency "as the hart panteth for the water brooks." James Buchanan and Jeff. Davis are the last Presidents the Slave Power will ever make, but how long it takes for the aspirants to that office to awake to the full realization of the fact. Kentucky may threaten and bluster and go over to Secession if she can not rule the Nation, but she can never make a President. While it is sickening to see prominent Republicans striving to win the confidence of these petty tyrants—vehemently disclaiming the charge of abolition—protesting that they were never opposed to Slavery where it did exist but only where it did not exist,—it is refreshing to hear prominent Democrats, like Daniel S. Dickinson, calling for a million men to march South and sweep the rebel tyrants and their institution from the face of the earth. More than half a million are already in the field; and had but the magic word been spoken, half a million more had rose to arms. Then the John Brown element had been fully represented: now it is not. If the perpetuity of Slavery is to be the policy of this Government, then the John Browns may be drafted and their bodies swell the ranks, but the souls that should animate them will not be there. The John Brown "soul goes marching on" and never stops to fight the battles of despotism.

On the part of the enemy this war is waged with terrible earnestness. The leaders fight for place and power, while privates ignorantly think they are fighting for home and liberty, God and their native land. What our cause sadly lacks, but needs most, is *inspiration* superior to theirs. What the Nation most needs to-day is half a million Sword-of-the-Lord-and-of-Gideon men—terrible as an army with banners, whose war-cry is, God and Liberty! Onward to Victory! But the cry, Union and Slavery, can never rouse such men to arms; nor even the cry, Union and Liberty, if they have good reason to suspect that the liberty is of the rhetorical kind of which Daniel Webster declaimed. It must be genuine, impartial liberty—the liberty of a Government that will not allow the humblest, poorest and blackest of its subjects to be deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, except as a consequence of crime. Who that heeds the dictates of common humanity could object to such a Government?

And yet it is threatened that if we undertake to carry out the original plan of our Revolutionary fathers by attempting to institute such a Government—if we obey the command, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof;"—then fifty of the best drilled regiments will immediately disband. Well, suppose they should, or even turn their arms against us,—would they "whip us out," as the conditional Unionists prophesy? Then we deserve to be whipped! We might still have two men to the enemy's one, and best of all, a righteous cause—a cause for which, in olden time, it was thought one could chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight. In modern times, one old man and a score of boys frightened all the despots of America; when the army of the Union, in overwhelming force, in the service of the slave oligarchs, overcame the little Spartan land of the brave old liberator. John Brown, as he stood on the scaffold, had a Samson hold upon the pillars of despotism. When that fatal drop fell the infernal old Bastile shook to its foundation stone; and the first ball that fell upon Sumter published far and wide the death-doom of American Slavery. It remains but for the American People to seal that doom—to make it speedy and final.

But it is objected that our Pro-Slavery neighbors would rebel. It is but too true that there is a strong element of this kind that may yet show itself in armed resistance. There are those so in love with this monster mother of Secession they may yet take up arms in its defense. If so, dreadful as would be the necessity, we must fight them. It is degrading to live in fear of the threats of such a mob. Life is not worth living for if it must be accepted as a boon from their hands. This is the darkest part of the whole picture. Let every argument and every persuasion be exhausted, and finally, if force must be called in to repel force, let it be swift and terrible!

It is not probable that any serious resistance to emancipation will be made North of the fortieth degree of latitude. In many localities the demand for such a policy is becoming intense. The following are specimens of public sentiment: A lady on reading the refusal of colored regiments said with great emphasis, "Such a Government don't deserve to have another white soldier." "Why," replied another, "our Government is extremely gallant: its policy is to kill off all the white men and save the darkies and the women alive. It is the same Government that excludes from the right of the elective franchise, Indians, negroes, women, and all other idiots." Another lady said, "I should not be surprised in the least to learn at any moment that Lin-

coln and Seward had gone over to the Confederacy hook and line. They have been leaning that way so long, they might as well go and done with it." A preacher of commanding influence, who is impatient that something shall be done immediately that shall startle the Nation and compel the Administration to strike home at the root of the Rebellion, says he has prayed for Washington to be taken till he has begun to doubt the efficacy of prayer. Another man says, "I have encouraged two of my sons to enlist, but now that the authorities reject the tender of colored regiments, while they talk of drafting my third and last son,—I tell you, sir, it makes my blood boil! Our country needs all her brave men. If there are any such among the colored people, give them a chance to show their bravery, as they did in the Revolution."

Let the authorities at our National and State Capitals beware how they trifle with the millions of such men of the North. With them war is not a pastime, but a terrible necessity. Now that it is upon us with all its horrors, they demand that it shall be turned to righteous account—that it shall sweep from our land the last vestige of a barbarous system, and effectually rebuke the domineering insolence of "those high-bred cavaliers," lords of the lash, thievish gentry, conspirators and would-be assassins of the Nation. This much gained will furnish vantage ground for the removal of other wrongs. Fathers and mothers who send their sons to battle, demand that those battles, in which treasure dearer than their own life is staked, shall be applied to the permanent good of the race. Much as they abhor war and love peace, they will accept no peace that is not based on impartial liberty and immutable justice. If in the full enjoyment of domestic tranquility, peace and security, the future inhabitants of this continent shall look back and bless the heroes of to-day,—then may America feel that the blood of her sons has not been shed in vain.

Long, under our protection, has the trader in flesh and blood pursued his infamous traffic. Long have we stood reluctant guard to the prison house of bondage. "*The Union as it was* must never be restored!" but let the Stars and Stripes wave over all the land—"an emblem of hope to the poor and crushed." Let the Sunny South be made truly free, that the exiles and strangers among us may return to their native land, where they may sit down under their own vine and fig tree with none to molest nor make them afraid.

American Slavery will soon pass away. It is not impossible that England will come to regard the Federal as the Pro-Slavery side, and join the Confederacy on condition of emancipation. Who

would not infinitely prefer that American Liberty and Nationality should survive, rather than that European despots and nationalities should come to bear sway upon this Continent? G. R.

Farmington, Mich., August 13, '62.

The Black Bugaboo.

The New York Evening Post, in an article under the above caption, commenting upon a speech of Mr. Haskin, member of Congress from the Westchester (N. Y.) District, in which he deprecates emancipation on the ground that it would cause a general stampede of the slaves North, and a competition ruinous to white labor, says:

"If the South was an overpopulated region, like China, there might be reason in the fears which men like Mr. Haskin conjure up. But the truth is that the Southern States are greatly underpopulated: and Southern men have always acknowledged and mourned over this. The one thing lacking to the prosperity of the South was people—working men; and while they perceived this, the aristocrats who are now in rebellion against the free laboring men of the North sought to cure the evil, not by offering the inducement of high wages to white laboring men to come among them, but by importing ignorant and savage blacks from Africa.

"Mr. Vallandigham asserts, and Mr. Haskin repeats, that an emancipation act would bring North a stream of negroes. But is it not plain that it would have just the opposite effect? that indeed the only inducement which brings them North is the refusal to give them liberty in the South? and that, therefore, so far from an emancipation act bringing negroes hither, it is perhaps the only, and certainly the surest way, to keep them where they now are? Why are the negroes leaving Virginia? Is it not because they fear being returned to Slavery? Why do they stay in the District of Columbia and flock thither? Simply because they like the South, and crowd to every corner of it in which their liberty is secured them. Let them be protected in freedom in Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and not only will those now there remain there, but many now forced to remain in the colder North will gladly return to the South.

"These speakers point to the negro settlements at the North; but is it not clearly the existence of Slavery at the South which brings these blacks among us? Would they have run away to us at the hazard of their lives; would they remain among us, abused and looked down upon by the ignorant and the bigoted, if it were not that the slave laws and the slave system of the South force them away from there? Assuredly, if it is an evil to have

black laborers coming into competition with white laborers of the Northern States, and if our white working men dislike the prospect, they should urge, with all their might, the emancipation of the blacks in the South; instead of supporting such men as Mr. Haskin, who, by opposing emancipation, force the blacks to run away to the North to obtain their freedom."

The Clergy bear Witness against Themselves.

The Congregational Theological Seminary of Chicago, "after a full and careful examination," has come to the conclusion that "two-thirds of the Chaplains in the army are men unfit for their place." This is an unpleasant state of things truly; and suggests the inquiry whether there is any reason to suppose that the clergy out, are, on an average, any better than those that are in the army. If this can not be shown—and there does not appear to be any reason to suppose there is much difference—the testimony of these Chicago divines against their own cloth is rather damaging than otherwise. If a bad minister can undo as much as a good one can accomplish, the question might arise whether the order could not be dispensed with altogether, to advantage; and the problem, How long it would take to convert the world through clerical instrumentality, would be a little like that which sought to know how long it would need for a frog to get out of a well, who every day leaped forward one foot and fell back two. —[Cincinnati Enquirer.

The Difference.

Of all melancholy social sights that one sees, few are so sad as a body of men got together to convert mankind to sectarianism by ecclesiastical machinery,—men dead as timber, cut down dead and dry! Out of wire, muslin, thread, starch, gum, and sundry chemicals, French milliners make by dozens what they call roses, lilies of the valley, forget-me-nots, and the like. Scentless and seedless abortions are they, and no more. What a difference between the flower the lover gathers by the brook-side for his maiden's breast, and the thing which the milliner makes with her scissors; between the forget-me-not of the meadow and the forget-me-not of the shop! Such an odds is there betwixt religious men and Christians manufactured in a mill.

—[Theodore Parker.

So long as we are satisfied that deeds pass for nothing on high, that character has no market value in heaven, that labor cannot save the soul; so long as we rely on a foreign power to do that for us, we ought to do for ourselves, to make good the imperfect work of our own hands, just so long will we see men developed to correspond. —[C. M. Plumb.

Now and Then.

Sunday is a good social institution, and it would be a bad move to abolish it; but in order to render it useful and a blessing, it ought not to be in the power of any particular class of men to dictate the manner in which it shall be employed. Every individual should have the liberty, expressed and guaranteed, of using the day as he pleases, always provided that he does not infringe upon the exercise of this right in others. This would make fair dealing throughout the community in regard to this matter. Then if a man wanted to go to church, or stay at home, or labor in his field or shop, or take a ride or a sail, or attend a place of amusement, he could do so without the fear of the law or what "evil tongues" might say of him. But just so long as his liberty on that day is restrained by these influences, Sunday is not what it ought to be.

However, it will get right eventually, if we may judge by the signs of the times. Sunday is fast losing its bigoted Puritan character, and becoming more and more like a holiday; but we are not indebted for this wholesome change to the influence of religion. A very different state of things prevailed when the State was all Orthodox and Infidelity or Liberalism was unknown. In those times, Sunday was like a straight-jacket, so rigid and unbending was its observance, and any thing like recreation on that day was looked upon with as much horror as the unpardonable sin itself. This absurd fashion prevailed for a long time, and there are people living now who remember when "tything-men" used to patrol the streets to stop people from traveling except to or from church. Those were the palmy days of priestcraft in New England, when ministers and deacons ruled the roost, and nobody had the temerity to inquire, What doest thou? All the people had to do was to obey, asking no questions for conscience sake; and, if they refused to pay their church tax, the jail brought them up all standing. We have seen a man who was imprisoned for not paying this tax, which was enforced by law in this State within fifty years. Think of putting a man in jail now because he refuses to support a church! The absurdity of the idea shows that the world is moving in the right direction.

And Sunday, too, has vastly improved in Massachusetts during the last half century. The tything-men have all gone up, and the church tax is as obsolete as the lost tribes of the house of Israel. With an increase of Liberalism has come an increase of personal liberty and independence. People are getting into the custom of using Sunday as a season of recreation, and they do not feel that in doing so they are committing any great wrong against their consciences, or society, or the "Lord." And they are not. Innocent and healthy enjoyment is virtue and happiness, and therefore commendable. Hence in this city, of a Sunday, when the weather is fine, you

will see a large number of well-dressed, orderly people, walking on the Common and the Public Garden, looking at the trees, grass, and flowers, the sparkling fountains, and the starry flag waving over all. Some snarling bigot might say they ought to be in the churches, but he has no right to be their judge. Let each one suit himself, and if a man has no better taste than to pass the hours of a delightful Sunday between bricks and mortar, let him enjoy that miserable privilege by all means, but he must not presume to find fault with his wiser neighbor, who, having tested the insufficiency of preaching, prefers to admire the beauties of Nature.

—[Boston Investigator.]

The Policy.

The following pertinent and sensible remarks were made by Col. Turchin, on the occasion of his late trial before a court martial, for alleged harsh and unjustifiable treatment of the rebels:

"We invade the Southern States, where, with few exceptions, the white population is against us, and from them we can get no information concerning the enemy. In our hearts, we know that our only friends here are negroes; but, imbued with prejudices, we are ashamed manfully to acknowledge it. As a matter of necessity, we use the negro for our purposes—they communicating with us readily about their masters, and about the movements of the enemy; and, after thus putting them in a position hostile to the mass of the white population of the South, we basely and meanly surrender them to their enemies.

"Our policy vacillates. One General gives them a temporary protection, promising them freedom; another, superseding the first, drives them out of the lines, leaving them to the mercy of their owners, who, looking upon them as their mortal enemies, hang them the first convenient opportunity. When I retreated from Tuscumbia, I heard, and I have conclusive reason to believe it true, that there were four or five negroes hung on the following day, because they had given us some valuable information. Humanity, for permitting this great wrong, cries out against us.

"The more lenient we are with Secessionists, the more insolent they become: and if we do not prosecute this war with vigor, using all the means we can bring to bear against the enemy, including the emancipation of slaves, the ruin of this Country is inevitable.

"The problem before us is grand. Universal freedom is at stake; and I feel humiliated when I think, that this hitherto considered great and generous people may show the world their incapacity to master the present difficulties, and enjoy the blessings of self-government."

Chaplains in the Army.

I should be sorry to say anything that can bring into discredit the really good and honest men who, I have no doubt, are, here and there, doing all they can to attend to the physical and spiritual wants of our soldiers; but there is too much reason to fear that there are a number of sanctimonious rascals who have got into the army for no purpose whatever but to plunder our brave fellows, while professing to help them on their way to Heaven. I have heard of some of these Aminidab Sleeks who do not think it beneath them to be retailing poor socks to our men at forty cents a pair, and oranges (supposed to belong to the sanitary department) at five cents apiece; men who receive payment regularly from Uncle Sam for maintaining horses and servants, though they neither own nor use one or the other; and who, whenever they go on furlough, (about seven-eighths of the time they are supposed to be on duty,) have the meanness to lay an embargo of twenty-five cents a head on the poor, generous fellows who are fighting our battles! And what are they doing in camp? Lolling about, till they hear the first gun, and then they take to their heels. Besides, however useful a truly good and Christian divine may be at the side of the wounded and dying, at a hospital, it is to be questioned if our men are encouraged, on the eve of an engagement, by hearing some commercial gentleman, in white shoker, talking to them of fire and brimstone. The best one of the kind I have yet heard of, was a hopeful preacher who took for his text the appropriate passage, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." The object of this divine was to prove—and no doubt he did so very satisfactorily to his audience—that all those who die for the Union die in the Lord, and are blessed; whereas those who die for Jeff. Davis are—very much the reverse.

—[Cor. Springfield Republican.

This year of suffering is surely as light a penalty as this Nation could expect to endure for its seventy-five years of guilty subserviency to Slavery. And much more than this will it have to bear, even if it have stamina enough to pass safely through this crisis of its Constitution. This delay and all its attendant miseries have been the unavoidable consequence of the deteriorating and debilitating effects of its long subjection to the influence of the Slave Power. This has deadened the spirit and lowered the pride of the people in a deplorable degree. Even now the President and his civil and military officers seem to feel as if they were the insurgents and the rebels their lawful masters.

—[Anti-Slavery Standard,

Will the South Emancipate?

I have long thought, and though few agree with me, I cannot banish the idea from my mind, that the rebels, in their last extremity of desperation, will resort to emancipation as the only means of securing the assistance of England and France.

Their pride is so indomitable, that they will do any thing rather than submit to the United States; and there is no other way in which they could so effectually humiliate us, and secure to their cause the sympathy of the world! John Bull and Monsieur Crepeau would like nothing better than to help in the dismemberment of these States; and if the South is sagacious enough to take that step, they can do it not only without offending the moral sense of their own people and of the civilized world, but they would be sure to receive universal plaudits as missionaries of freedom, justice, and humanity, while they were in fact merely serving the purpose of their own selfishness. I have never believed that M. Mercier went to Richmond merely to see about tobacco. Why is he now going to France, and Lord Lyons to England? Why is Slidell's secretary hurrying home to Secession from Paris.

The South has always been too cunning for us; and I can not think she will lose this chance to make use of the advantages which we have been so afraid to avail ourselves of. If she does so, the United States Government will wake up too late to a sense of its folly. It will become the laughing-stock of the civilized world. The Border States will no longer place any value on the institution they are now so willing to sacrifice the Country to sustain, and Sambo will be amply revenged upon us for rejecting the services he was so willing to render us in our hour of need.

—[L. Maria Child.

Humanity vs. Gods.

I hesitate not to take the side of Humanity—a creed-bound, existence-cursed, God-damned Humanity!

Let others who choose, glory in the cross of Christ. Let others who choose, stake their well-being upon the merits and attainments of imaginary deities. I declare my faith in Humanity. I will trust in the power to salvation of the God-derived, universally-possessed element of goodness, ever present, latent or active, in each immortal spirit. Long enough have we denied man every true and manly attribute. Long enough have we enriched the gods at the expense of mankind.

Let us now repay the debt, and henceforth deal justly by man. Let us take the side of down-trodden, oppressed, victimised, and, if you please, "wicked," "criminal" Humanity, and defend him against all enemies, human, infernal, or deific.

—[Charles M. Plumb,

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The Better Side of Manhood.

We hear much said of the depravity of human nature, of the wickedness of the world, of its sin and misery. We all know that the world is bad enough, that it is very low and gross, and needs to become much purer and better. But is it well to look always on the dark side of the picture, to contemplate and mourn over the weaknesses and follies of mankind? These are many and great. But would it not be better to look on the bright side also, to contemplate the fairest manifestations of human nature, to seek for what of beauty and virtue and manliness we can find?

We are assimilated to the nature of such objects as we constantly study and observe. If we accustom ourselves to take dark views of human nature and life, we shall thereby make our own life and nature dark. Continued looking into the dark dims the eyesight. Light exists for the eyes, and they must have it in order to keep clear and bright. Truth and Love and Beauty exist for the soul, and these must be contemplated and drawn in as food, or else it will not grow. His soul gets not much expansion who sees only ugliness and deformity in the Universe, who sees no beauty nor harmony there. Let us look with other eyes on this fair and beautiful World, and believe it is well worthy the hand of the All-Fair and Supreme Beauty who furnished and adorned it. Nature is transfigured with an element of joy and love. Do not the innocent birds sing in the trees and under the eaves and windows of our homes; and do not the hopeful flowers bloom everywhere, in the wood and field and by the road-side? And yet there are rarer and sweeter flowers blooming all around us in human hearts, flowers of kindness and love, of beautiful and generous deeds.

Despite all selfishness and grossness, there is much of kindness and good-will in human nature. We are not so ugly as we are sometimes tempted to believe. When we let our better natures come uppermost, how fair our life seems, and how far removed the base and trifling. I find a smile on almost every man's face whom I meet in the street. Even the stranger whom I do not know makes me some offer-

ing of good-will, by some bow of the head or sign of friendly recognition. 'Tis not all by forcing that prompts these tokens of kindness and respect. They are the spontaneous outflowings of a wide kindness of heart. I will not conceal my faith that, in man, no matter how truth obscured and covered up by grossness and sensuality, in the most favorable moments of life, there will come uppermost at last a desire to become noble and manly, to be brave and upright, wearing the grace and charm of a noble manhood. How far we may come short of it in our actual life, I think, none of us but desire something greater and more fair in character than anything we have yet attained. There is, at times, a spark of heroism and grandeur which kindles in our souls at sight of the grand and heroic in others, whether in thought or deed. We none of us worship meanness nor fear. We detest the coward and dastard wherever seen. We detest our own souls even, in so far as we discover them to be cowardly and mean. The respect which we are able to preserve for ourselves, is in virtue of the nobleness, or possibility of nobleness, which we find within us. We know, whatever our life may seem, there is somewhat within us not altogether mean, and so we keep our self-respect. What is it but this desire for nobleness in all hearts that gives rise to the admiration which we all pay to great and noble men?

In contemplating the hero, all that which is heroic in our natures comes uppermost, and we become for the moment a hero ourselves, and feel that we can also do brave and heroic deeds. The only difference between the genuine and life-long hero and other men is this—that in the hero the desire for nobleness acts as a constant force prompting him to heroic deeds; in other men it acts spasmodically and only as it is called forth through the exhibition of heroism in others. But it allows us the inference, at least, that, at bottom in human hearts, there is reverence for what is good and true. My brother, dost thou not reverence a manly life? Dost thou not love genuine goodness and worth when thou seest it? Is not a beautiful and manly character the most beautiful and noble, and shall I not say the divinest thing, thou canst find in this God's Universe? It is the ideal excellence that is attached to the names of the world's heroes that causes the world to reverence them so highly. It is not little-souled men out of which the world creates its gods, but the great and high-souled. It is not a Nero or Napoleon the remembrance of whom the world keeps sacred and green forever; but Jesus and Socrates and such as have been the brave benefactors of mankind. This wide kindness in human nature, this reverence, though unconscious it be, which is ever paid to a higher and more manly character than we have yet attained, is a prophecy of the future, of what we shall yet become. Let none be discouraged though we attain not to such high excellence in a day, nay, though as yet we only as it were dream of it, as something only among the possibilities of the future.

The fairest dream of beauty shall yet be realized, and men shall stand up in majestic loveliness, crowned in the divinest attributes of the soul.

H. S.

No Issue.

Archbishop Hughes has been to Europe. Archbishop Hughes has returned to New York. Archbishop Hughes has preached. Archbishop Hughes' sermon has been reported in the papers, and attention has been called to it as to a great thing. In what does this greatness consist? Why, he exhorts to the calling out of more and more men. If it had occurred to Archbishop Hughes to call for the putting of the men already in the field, under more competent, loyal and efficient generalship, the probability is that, with the response which the press makes to whatever comes from this prince of priests, much life and treasure might have been saved. And how is it that such an idea should not have been vouchsafed to one so favored of the gods—so reverenced of men? The plain answer is in his own words, in two brief, connected sentences:

"I know little of what has transpired here in my absence. I have had scarcely time to look at the papers since I returned."

Here is a fair specimen of the work we are doing—of the counsels that prevail. The Vicegerent has made a move—the Archbishop has gone from his place, and returned to it—the "man of God" has spoken—so "hear O heavens, and give ear O earth."

Again from the Archbishop:

"What is the prospect of its [the war's] coming to an end? I do not see any prospect. There does not appear to be an issue; and it may be that God, for some design of his own, which future generations can appreciate, has allowed this war to scourge us, in order to bring future benefits to the human race."

Whatever the Archbishop's meaning for this use of the word "issue," there is a meaning for that word, in connection with this matter, to which the Archbishop and others will do well to give heed. If they do not yet comprehend it, nor apprehend it, they better abandon at once the idea of getting wisdom from their god in the case, and take themselves to reading the newspapers a while. The records and events of 1861 and 1862 they will find vastly more important and useful to them, than those of a book so old that the dispute about its age and the distance of its events, are as profoundly interesting as anything pertaining to it.

The South have made an ISSUE. Their issue is against Freedom. The issue for the North to make is against Slavery. This they have not yet made. Until they make it, they will squander blood and treasure in vain. In vain they may "stand still and see the salvation of the Lord"—they will continue to find it, as they have for a year and a half past, the destruction of men. In vain they may listen to the "man of God" who teaches them "the word of the Lord," so much that he has "scarcely time to look at

the papers"—they will find themselves in difficulty with a party that has a purpose and makes an "issue," until they meet that party with a purpose and an issue fully made, that can be seen by this "blind guide," who comes to them from a god with "designs for a future generation to appreciate." These gods, at once and always the employed and the employers of priests and politicians, have always been, and while they are trusted or listened to, always will be, the arch-traitors and enemies of mankind.

If this god of Christendom has always while had control of this matter in time past, and if he at any former time had "designs" for THIS "generation to appreciate," why has he allowed all, or any of, this monstrous "merchandise in slaves and souls of men"?—why didn't he sink the first slave-ship?—and then continue to sink slave-ships, till he made his designs appreciated by that "generation of vipers," whose mischief and malignity have been allowed to inhere in their descendants, and come down through "the third and fourth generations," depraving and corrupting the fifth and the sixth, until "the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint"—that "from the sole of the foot to the head there is no soundness"—and the "country is desolate," and the "cities are [ready to be] burned with fire"? "Away with him, away with him, crucify him." Such a god is not fit to "rule over us"—nor to live. Better, far better for us to rule over ourselves.

This is our destruction—we are under the rule of gods, priests and politicians, leagued together to get glory and honor and bread and butter by slaughtering and enslaving the masses of mankind. o. s. m.

Reformers' Idolatry of Jesus Christ.

In what follows be it borne in mind that reference is made to the Christ of the English version of the New Testament, and above all that words are taken to mean what any school-child acquainted with the dictionary would define them to signify. The moment a man hides himself behind the breastwork of "hidden meanings," "spiritual significations," &c., I have done with him. They have ever been the refuge of quacks and imposters.

Now it seems to me that Jesus must have been all that he claims for himself, or he must have been hallucinated, or lastly, a rank imposter and liar. Now, oh Reformers! you that are so fond of proclaiming aloud your love for and devotion to Jesus, "the fountain of truth," give heed to the following from his own lips. If we give him credit for the good things he has had put in his mouth, (stolen, by the way, from the ancient philosophers,) it is only fair to saddle him with some other declarations not quite so unexceptionable. I only address myself to Reformers. Christians have the merit of consistency, at least;—to them I say nothing.

Now, friends, do you believe that Christ was the son of God? He says, "I and my FATHER are one."

"Think ye that I can not now pray to MY FATHER and he shall presently send me more than twelve legions of angels." Many more quotations to the same effect might be adduced.

Do you believe that he was alive in Abraham's time—that he lived so many centuries before he was born? He says, "Before Abraham was I am."

Do you believe that he saw the Devil cast out of Heaven? "I saw Satan as lightning fall from Heaven."

Do you believe in eternal damnation? Yet your fountain of truth (!) asserts, "And these shall go away into EVERLASTING punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." Dear Bible-swallowing Universalist friends, how do you get over this text? If it does not teach eternal torment, and that from the lips of your Son of God himself, then words have no meaning and language is only to deceive!

Do you believe there is no salvation save through him? Yet he tells us "no man cometh to the father but by me."

Do you believe in a last judgment? He has described it to us in his book more than once.

But what is the use of multiplying questions of this sort? If you can not answer those already put in the affirmative, then is the NEW REPUBLIC's "standard of morals" either a self-deceived visionary, or an imposter and liar!

It takes a long time to get over early training. We have been so long taught to regard him as perfection, that the habit of using words of almost adoration, clings to us even after emancipation from any REAL BELIEF in the atrocious doctrines taught. The blasphemy and horrible wickedness of the Old Testament is so glaring, that Reformers pretty easily disgorge that; but moral sentiments have been freely interlarded with the objectionable portions of the New, so that it "sits longer on the stomach"—whether internally as a wholesome article of food, or externally as a baleful nightmare, each must determine for himself.

In conclusion, I only quoted from memory, and offer the foregoing texts as but the SUBSTANCE. If I am in error, correct me. It is a good while since I have read the BOOK OF LIES, and I may readily mistake. Also, when speaking of Christ, I use the word as I would that of Bacchus or Jupiter in connection with the ancient mythology, and not by any means as expressing a belief that any such personage (even as a man) really existed.

EDWARD M. RICHARDS.
Moneka, Linn Co., Kansas, July 31, '62.

REMARKS.

I am not sure that it properly devolves upon me to make any remarks in this connection, and I shall certainly not attempt to speak for any admirer of Jesus, save myself. But as I seem to be to a certain extent implicated, I may properly say a few words.

As I have before said, I do not consider the question of Jesus having lived or not lived, a vital one to

decide. I do not see that any important principle is involved in that question, though it may be interesting as a matter of fact and history. I have been inclined to admit that he lived, and that he was a zealous, brave and self-sacrificing Reformer. I will not quarrel about the matter. I am not even inclined or qualified to discuss it. I am a Spiritualist, and believe that we shall all yet settle this matter for ourselves, through the extra facilities for the acquirement of knowledge afforded in Spirit life. I do not consider that the existence of any particular individual is essential, in any other sense than that every individual atom is essential. If Jesus did exist, his existence was essential; if he did not exist, his existence was not essential.

Whenever I speak of Jesus I speak of him as a man I suppose to have existed; and I do not suppose that belief in his existence has any thing in particular to do with belief in the infallibility of the Bible, or with belief in the existence of a personal deity. I do not believe in these two latter, and I am not positive or sectarian in regard to the former.

On the supposition that Jesus actually lived, I think it very unfair to attribute to him all the sentiments, and sayings, and claims, that are attributed to him in the Bible. It is not reasonable to conclude that a man teaching radical and peculiar views, and quite likely but imperfectly understood and appreciated even by his followers, and reported from memory, many years afterward, should be correctly reported. We are also to take into account the interpolations and mistranslations of the record. It can be but a mere matter of opinion, about which it will not pay to waste many words, as to whether he did or did not live, or as to whether he taught this or that doctrine, or made this or that claim.

In my references to him in this Journal, I have taken it for granted that he believed and taught what is commonly attributed to him, and that he was that remarkable illustration of justice and generosity he is commonly understood to have been. In fact "Christ" is commonly understood to have been an embodiment of an almost or quite unheard-of spirit of self-sacrifice, unselfishness and trueness to principle. I submit then that it is perfectly proper for me to refer to him as my standard, so far as I have one; for I have only referred to him as an illustration of the principles I would advocate.

I referred to him (and reasonably enough I think) because he was more generally known, by reputation, than most any other man. I know individuals in private life, who I believe are just as good as Jesus was—in fact I am a great deal surer they are good, than I am that he was—but I do not refer to them in a public way, from the simple fact that they are not known—reason enough. To mutual acquaintances, they would be exactly the persons I should take to illustrate my ideal.

As to salvation through Christ, I believe (though not confidently) that he is a veritable personage,

now existing in the Spirit world, exerting, as other spirits do, a positive influence over the affairs of this mundane sphere. Of course, if he is a character of extraordinary capacity, he will exert an extraordinary influence, and if he is well-inclined, that influence will be exerted for the weal of the human race.

There are a great many passages of Scripture that some of our Rationalistic friends think entirely ridiculous, that after all may have an important meaning. I for one am entirely willing that some good sense and good sentiments should be found in the Bible. I would have the Bible placed on the same footing as other books, and Christ take his stand along with other men, and then I would have no especial anxiety to oppose either the one or the other. F. B.

Religious Loafers.

The war correspondents of the Chicago papers complain that the chaplains in the army neither preach nor pray; that they are mere loafers, and the only service they perform is to devour all the delicacies sent to sick soldiers which the reverend gluttons can get between their jaws. This is undoubtedly true, and shows that the fellows ought to be drummed out of the army, if not kicked out of it. They draw large salaries, which might as well be spent in furnishing each regiment with a poll-parrot to amuse them with its chatter. So far as they exert any influence at all, they do positive mischief. They divert the attention of the soldiers from their duty. The nuisance will only be completely abated when these hypocritical humbugs are expelled, and there is not a white neckcloth to be seen in the army.

—[New York Sunday Mercury.

In the first number of the NEW REPUBLIC I gave my views of the policy and propriety of employing chaplains for the Army, and for Congress, and paying them out of the National Treasury, taking the ground that it was a violation of the spirit of our institutions, an insult to the people, and a violation of their rights. In addition to the above, we copy in another column an extract from the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, going to show the same thing, namely: that the chaplains of the Army, sustained in luxurious idleness at an aggregate cost to the Treasury of at least hundreds of thousands, saying nothing about the falseness of the principle, even if the chaplains were the best and most acceptable of men, are an actual and grievous nuisance. I call upon the religious press, and the friends of religion en masse, throughout the Country, if they would save religion, and the institution of prayer in particular, from falling into disrepute, to unite and call for the immediate abolition of this entire system.

It is not a case of religious opinion at all. I care not whether the chaplains are Presbyterians, or Universalists, or Spiritualists—what their religious views are on any point whatever—taxing the people to pay for preaching of any sort is a relic of religious semi-barbarism. Let the well-meaning and sensible of all parties and opinions, unite to abolish this system. To all Rationalists it is an unbearable nuisance; and if religionists know what is good policy, and if they

wish to save the whole system of praying from contempt, let them no longer seek to impose it upon the people, and then oblige them to pay an exorbitant price for what only disgusts them.

But it is of little use to look for any such reform, under the present general system. It is corrupt and oppressive from centre to circumference. It will not pay to put new cloth into an old garment. Not till we have a NEW REPUBLIC shall we have just, or humane, or economical, or rational administration or legislation.

F. B.

Fault-Finding.

The Editor of this Journal makes no especial pretensions of any sort, but he is conscious of making as good and as free a paper as he is capable of making under the somewhat unfavorable conditions (in some respects) under which he labors. As to the matter of freedom, perhaps the paper is as free as he cares to have it. Articles have been published without regard to subject, sentiment or source; and this course will be continued, though more room, so far, has been given to certain subjects (as religious discussions, for instance) than was intended, and less to others, but no article will be any more or less likely to be published because it advocates sentiments similar or dissimilar to those of the Editor, or because it comes or does not come from a friend or a not friend, or from a person who does or does not sustain a position in literary circles.

The position of this Journal and its Editor is herein and thus defined. Good (or poor) advice, suggestions and criticisms, in a general (or special) way, will be gladly and gracefully accepted, from any human being on the Planet, (or off,) and all possible efforts will be made to profit and improve accordingly; but when it comes to fault-finding and insinuating, the fault-finder and insinuator is informed that he is bringing his wares to the wrong market. We shall print articles just as soon and just as readily from those who are not appreciative, and just, and gentlemanly, as from those who are all these, provided they are as well written, but not one moment sooner or more readily; and such are advised that the more of their complaints they keep to themselves the better. An editor can not always have an article printed and returned to the writer the next mail after it is written, or the next week. In this Office we do the very best we know how, in this and all other respects, and claim the right to judge when an article can reasonably appear in our columns, or whether it can appear at all.

Let it not be inferred that I am greatly troubled by fault-finders—on the contrary I am very little troubled—nor that I am making these words simply for my own protection; as a poetical Contributor said last week, "I speak for the Fraternity." F. B.

Those who write for this Paper, are requested to put Headings to their Articles. We want neither the responsibility nor the trouble of doing it.

More Evidence.

From the commencement of the War, I have feared, or rather believed, that the most serious troubles this Nation was destined to encounter, were to be the result of serious and even terribly bloody conflicts between different parties at the North. The "grand uprising," so-called, never seemed to indicate anything more than a patriotic feeling on the part of the people. And even this patriotism, in the main, was nothing more than a reverence for established Government, without special appreciation of the principles of justice and right, and true government. It had no special indication that the leaders of the great political parties were any more in love with each other than ever, or that they were ready to merge party in public interest. There never was more or more bitter feeling between the parties than at present. As a natural consequence of their character and position, the Democratic party, at least a powerful faction, are by far the most bitter and determined in their hate, and as sure as effects succeed causes, in my opinion, they will yet breed the most terrible mischief. Of course all treason and treasonable organizations in the Northern States, are referable to Democratic politicians. The following is from the Cincinnati Times:

"Much has been said of a treasonable organization in Indiana. The Governor of that State has announced that he had proofs of its existence, and members of the Order have been found among the guerrillas recently captured in Kentucky. The matter was brought to the attention of the United States Grand Jury at Indianapolis, and the Jury have been several weeks investigating it. They have examined many witnesses, including several members of the Order, and make in the report a full development of the treasonable association. The Jury say:

"After a careful and diligent examination of the testimony from witnesses well acquainted with the facts deposed, and having a personal knowledge of the matters, said Grand Jury are constrained to say that a secret and oath-bound organization exists, numbering some fifteen thousand in Indiana, as estimated by the members of the Order, commonly known as "Knights of the Golden Circle," and even in the same localities by different names.

"Their Lodges, or "Castles," as they denominate them, are located in various parts of the State, yet they have common signs, grips and words whereby the members are able to distinguish each other, and pass-words to enable the member to enter the Castle in which he was initiated, or any other which such member may choose to visit. They have signals by which they can communicate with each other in the day, or the night time, and, above all, they have a signal or sign which may be recognized at a great distance from the person giving it.

"Finding how useful such an organization was for the purposes originally intended, said Grand Jury believe that it not only extends at present through every part of the South, and every department of the rebel army, but during the last Winter and Spring was introduced into the State of Indiana and other Northern States. Since that time it has made alarming progress in our midst, with entirely new

features attached to it, in view of the unnatural conflict now desolating our country. Not only are the loyal soldiers in the army to be treacherously betrayed in the bloody hour of battle, by the signals above referred to, but said Grand Jury have abundant evidence of the membership binding themselves to resist the payment of the Federal tax and prevent enlistments in the armies of the United States."

F. B.

Will the Negro Come North?

The following extract from a letter of Gen. Hunter is what Abolitionists have always been asserting, yet the haters of the black man have never been able to see it—prejudice and stupidity always go together. The fact that the slaves would come North, if liberated, is no good reason for holding them in slavery—like all other men, they have a right to go where they please, so long as they behave themselves, but the simple fact is, doubtless, that nothing could hinder their general migration Southward, in the event of emancipation. Gen. Hunter says:—

"None of the carefully-fostered delusions by which Slavery has sustained itself at the North is more absurd than the bugbear of 'a general migration of negroes to the North,' as a necessary consequence of emancipation. So far is this from being the fact, that, although it is well known that I give passes North to all negroes asking them, not more than a dozen have applied to me for such passes since my arrival here, their local attachments being apparently much stronger than with the white race. My experience leads me to believe that the exact reverse of the received opinion on this subject would form the rule, and that nearly if not quite all the negroes of the North would migrate South, whenever they shall be at liberty to do so without fear of the auction-block."

F. B.

Unconstitutionality of Slavery.

We have received from the Publisher, Bela Marsh, a copy of Lysander Spooner's admirable work, in which he shows, if keen logic and skillful argument, aided by great legal knowledge, can do it, that American Slavery has no legal existence in this Country. I would advise every one interested in the subject, who has not read the work, to send for a copy at once. No thinker—no admirer of close reasoning—can fail to be deeply interested in the work, whether accepting, or dissenting from, its conclusions. No one can be thoroughly POSTED on this subject, without studying Spooner.

As a practical question, I do not consider it important to decide whether Slavery is Constitutional or not. If Slavery is in the Constitution, Slavery is no better for it, while the Constitution, by its sanction of Slavery, is worthy only to be trampled under foot. The Constitution has become rather obsolete. Only on the supposition that it is really a "Covenant with Death, and an agreement with Hell," has it ever been regarded by the administrators of the Government.

The work is for sale by Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield Street, Boston. Price, seventy-five cents, and fifteen cents postage, in paper; and one dollar, and twenty cents postage, in cloth.

F. B.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The NEW REPUBLIC has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammeled manner, but in no partisan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National polities will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reforms, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes; the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the NEW REPUBLIC will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the ablest writers on Anthropological and Physiological science.

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